

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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FEBRUARY 26, 1940

Extension of Merit System Is Called For

Ramspeck Bill, Passed by House, Would Place Thousands Under Classified Service

OTHER REFORMS ADVOCATED

Means Are Studied to Improve Quality of Personnel of Federal and State Governments

Early this month, the House of Representatives passed and sent to the Senate a bill which, if finally enacted into law, will be a landmark in the history of civil service reform. It is the Ramspeck Civil Service Bill, which would bring practically all federal employees under the classified civil service. Only workers of the WPA would be excepted from the provisions. Enactment of the bill would, it is estimated, place some 240,000 government employees under the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Act. The Ramspeck bill authorizes the President to "blanket" this number of federal workers into the classified civil service. Those who now hold the jobs would be obliged to pass noncompetitive examinations before receiving civil service status. Henceforth all vacancies will be filled according to the rules and regulations of the merit system of competitive examinations administered by the Civil Service Commission.

Provisions of Ramspeck Bill

Final enactment of the Ramspeck bill would go a long way toward solving one of the oldest and one of the thorniest problems of American government. The problem of selecting government employees has plagued every administration from that of George Washington to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Until the enactment of the Civil Service Act in 1883 (see page 6), federal workers were chosen on the basis of party loyalty and support. Every change of administration brought about an influx of job seekers and a complete house cleaning. George William Curtis, one of the leaders of the reform movement in Grant's administration, accurately described the condition when he said:

"Every four years the whole machinery of government is pulled to pieces. . . . The business of the nation and the legislation of Congress are subordinated to the distribution of plunder among eager partisans."

From the humble beginnings made in President Arthur's time, when the Civil Service Act brought some 12 per cent of the total number of federal employees under the classified civil service, real progress has been made in extending the merit system of appointment. Step by step, additional numbers were placed under the classified lists. By 1932, four-fifths of all federal workers were under the classified service. The percentage declined rapidly during the early years of the Roosevelt administration. Dozens of new agencies were established, and the employees to staff them were exempted from the provisions of the civil service laws.

Today, there are nearly a million persons employed by the federal government—927,000 to be exact. Of these, more than two-thirds are under the classified civil service. Many of them have been given classified status under the Roosevelt administration, either by presidential decree, or by legislative action. There remain some 300,000 federal workers who are not under the classified service. Many of these

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TURKISH SOLDIER

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TURKEY

Turkey is the strongest and most strategically located nation in the Near East.

Armies Gathering In the Near East

Allied and Russian Forces Mass as War Threatens to Spread Toward the Southeast

MYSTERY SURROUNDS MOVES

Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran Nervous, Fearing Clash Between Russia and the Allies

The increasing concentration of large bodies of troops in the eastern Mediterranean has continued to draw a substantial amount of world interest in the direction of the Near East. In Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and Egypt, the Allies have concentrated half a million men, including 30,000 "Anzacs" (as troops from Australia and New Zealand are called), tall, black-bearded Sikhs from India, French Senegalese troops from west Africa, regiments of the hard-hitting French foreign legion, and regular army units from England, France, and Egypt. Turkey continues to hold 200,000 men in readiness along her northeastern frontier adjacent to the Soviet Union, while across the towering Caucasus Mountains in the Kura Valley, near the Caspian Sea, the Russians have gathered an army of equal size, and have set about constructing a new maze of fortifications under the expert direction of some of Germany's best technicians.

A Great Mystery

Just why all these troops have been gathered in this region at this particular time is somewhat of a mystery. Allied officials, while refusing to comment any further than to suggest that "spring is coming," have hinted that their measures are of a purely defensive nature, designed to ward off any attack that Germany, Russia, or both might make in the direction of the Balkans or the Near East during the coming year. But Soviet sources have expressed the fear that the Allies intend to attack Russia from the south with the object of destroying Russian oil wells, storage tanks, railroads, docks, power plants, and factories, thus making it impossible for the Soviets to send to Germany the goods which the Nazis require to carry on the war.

While the Allies have made a mystery of their aims, they have given the utmost publicity to the arrival of their troops in the Near East. British and Egyptian mechanized forces were reviewed by General Maxime Weygand, commander of the French armies in the Near East, who came down from Syria for the occasion. Australian and New Zealand troops arriving in Egypt were greeted with a well-publicized speech by British Dominions Secretary Anthony Eden, who flew down from London by plane for the purpose. The publicity given these concentrations has prompted some observers to believe that they are intended primarily as a demonstration. The gathering of Allied troops in the Near East might, perhaps, encourage Rumania to resist the increasing pressure of German economic demands, and at the same time serve as a tactful warning. It might help to bolster Turkey's stand against Russia and Germany, if necessary. Or, it might worry the Soviets sufficiently to force them to withdraw troops from the Finnish area and concentrate them in the south, thus relaxing the pressure upon Finland.

But when all these theories are weighed, and the question of who may intend to attack whom is laid aside, the fact remains that an Allied-Russian clash in the

(Concluded on page 3)

Ugly Ducklings

BY WALTER E. MYER

We have all read the story of the ugly duckling; the awkward, nondescript little creature, shunned by its companions, ashamed of its own ugliness, which lived a lonely, wistful life, until finally it grew to be a lovely, graceful swan. An interesting story, but probably untrue to life in at least one important detail. The duckling may have been unlovely enough, but that it was ever ashamed of its ugliness I gravely doubt. I have an idea that it was quite satisfied with its looks; that, in fact, it considered itself the most captivating young bird in the pond, and that it quacked in raucous scorn at the long, curved necks of its elders, and that it considered their feathery smoothness quite out of date. I may be wrong about this. After all, I haven't had much experience with swans and ducklings and am not an authority on duck psychology. I have, however, observed the manners of a good many of the human species while they were going through the ugly-duckling stage, and it is upon these observations that I base my conclusions about the mental operations of the young swans-to-be.

But what, you may ask, is a human ugly duckling? That should be easy enough to answer. You have seen a number of them, I know. I refer to the youth who has acquired a little learning but not much; one who has learned a little about the ways of the world, and who thinks he knows everything. I mean the boy who, when he comes upon an idea new to him, thinks he is its lone discoverer and that no one else in the world has an inkling of it; the boy (or the girl) who is ashamed of his parents; who thinks that older people are "old fogies," who sneers at such ideals as industry, unselfishness, patriotism, or religion; the cynic, the scoffer, who thinks it is smart to disobey rules or conventions. This young person is, of course, an exception. Most boys and girls completely avoid the "smart-aleck" stage. The occasional youth who does not avoid it is not easy to live with, but those who are wise and tolerant do not judge him too harshly. "He'll get over it," they say. "Remember the story of the ugly duckling. This boy will grow up after a while. He will shed his ugliness and will be a useful citizen. He really is acquiring knowledge now. He is arrogant about it for the time being for he doesn't know that other people have followed before the upward road which he is traveling. But in time he will learn enough so that he will see how much more there is to learn. Then he will be humble and considerate. He will someday acquire a sense of humor and will then laugh at his earlier 'smartness' and smugness. So we must bear with him, for he is just a poor ugly duckling."



THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH
Outgoing President Hoover greets Incoming President Roosevelt on Inauguration Day, March 4, 1933.

- Straight Thinking -

XXII. Acting from Prejudice

THE presidential campaign will soon be under way in earnest. The dates for the national conventions have already been set. The Republican convention will meet in Philadelphia on June 24, and the Democratic convention will be held in Chicago July 15. In a little while we will be reading of state primaries to instruct delegates for this candidate or that. Then the campaign will be in full swing.

How will you make up your mind which party or which candidates to support? A good many people never make up their minds. Their minds are made up by someone else. A man may be a Republican or a Democrat without knowing when or why he became so. He has always acted from prejudice. His parents were Republicans or Democrats, and he developed a preference for one of the parties when he was too young to reason about it. He has always kept that preference. Whatever decisions he may have made were made before he was 10 years old. A little boy decided, and, as he later grew up, the man accepted the judgments of the little boy. A person of this kind always remains childlike in his thinking.

"But," someone will say, "I do not follow that course. I have made my own decision. I read the speeches of the candidates. I read the party platforms. Then I decide which speeches and which platforms seem best and most reasonable to me. And I follow the party whose leaders seem to make the better case for it."

People who take this course are on a higher level than the childish ones described a while ago. But they will have their difficulties. If you read either platform without having first made a very careful study of the problems which it mentions, the platform will sound good to you. The speeches of the candidates—all the candidates—will probably sound good. Any clever politician can make a speech which sounds well and can write a platform which is appealing. It will be very hard for you to decide which of the platforms is better and which party deserves your support.

There is a better way to go about the job of selecting your party. At first you should not think about a party at all, nor should you think about candidates. Keep your mind fixed upon the problems of the country or of your community which need to be solved. Study these problems. Read different points of view concerning them. Talk about them with your friends. Finally, when you are well acquainted with them, make up your mind what you think should be done about them. Come to conclusions of your own. In other words, write your own platform.

Then, after you have done this, you may study the platforms of the two par-

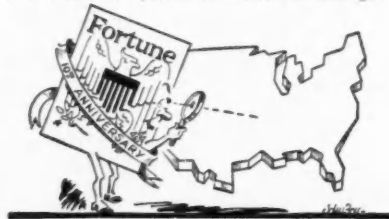
ties. You may read the speeches of the candidates. See which of the parties and which candidates come to conclusions similar to your own. Inquire which party, if placed in power, would solve most of the big problems as you would solve them. Make your own independent judgments the standard by which to judge the parties and the candidates, and choose the party which will follow a course as nearly as possible in accordance with the course which you think should be followed.

If you adopt this course, you will be really independent. You will not be influenced by the trickery of candidates or party leaders. You will know in advance what you want and will support those who seem to be working for the same things. You will not be influenced by childish prejudices. Neither will you be muddled by the fine phrases of party speeches and platforms. If you and other citizens decide first what you want and then support those who will most nearly give you what you want, you will help to make democracy a real and a living force.

What the Magazines Say

FORTUNE magazine has the reputation for doing large subjects on a large scale. Its tenth anniversary issue is no exception to the usual rule. Few magazines would attempt an issue on such a broad subject as "The United States." Fortune has not only attempted it, but has presented one of the most penetrating cross sections of American life and American problems, in past, present, and future phases, that has ever appeared in magazine form.

The theme of the entire number is built around the idea that the problems of the United States grow out of the achievements of the country since its founding. The editors of Fortune do not believe that the United States and its system of economics and gov-



ernment have failed, but rather that they have succeeded so well that an overabundance of everything—men, money, machines—has brought the need for adjustment. The Fortune articles in this issue point out where adjustment is needed, and where human beings suffer in the United States. They also point to new frontiers that may offer solutions.

The first article, called simply "The U.S.A.," begins: "Less by definition than by achievement, the United States is the greatest nation on earth. Everybody knows it, everybody believes it, everybody says it—usually without quite knowing why." Then the article presents the broad outlines of the regions of the United States—the geographical, agricultural, and industrial differences, and the paradoxes and contradictions of the United States as a whole.

"Since Yesterday" Presents Vivid Picture of Thirties in America

TEN years is but a brief period in the life of a nation, and yet when one turns back his attention to the beginning of the last decade, he becomes fully aware of the great changes that have taken place. Frederick Lewis Allen has given us an informal, chatty, and at the same time serious history of the thirties in his book, "Since Yesterday" (New York: Harpers, \$3). He takes the 10 years from September 3, 1929, to September 3, 1939. The first date marked the peak of the stock-market boom, which a few weeks later crashed and threw the nation into depression. The second date was the one on which England and France declared war upon Germany. Between the two, the United States witnessed a procession of events which were, for the most part, tragic in character.

It is an interesting experience to follow Mr. Allen through the decade which has just closed. A glance at the record recalls how vastly the country has changed since that September day 10 years ago, when one era was rapidly drawing to a close and another about to begin. In September 1929, William Howard Taft was chief justice of the Supreme Court. Calvin Coolidge had left the White House and was residing in a \$36-a-month apartment in Northampton, Massachusetts. Franklin D. Roosevelt was governor of New York. Father Coughlin was unknown beyond the reach of a single broadcasting station which was transmitting his sermons. Dr. Townsend was known only to his patients in Long Beach, California, and to personal friends. Little had been heard of Huey Long, who was in the "midst of a stormy term as governor of Louisiana."

On that September day, only a few people had heard of "Amos 'n' Andy," although within a year their fame was nationwide. Miniature golf had not yet made its appearance. Walt Disney was just beginning to find a market for his Mickey Mouse pictures. Hervey Allen was working on the second chapter of "Anthony Adverse." Pearl Buck had finally succeeded in finding a publisher for a novel and was laying plans for "The Good Earth," which was to win for her the Nobel Prize. "In one of the middle western cities, if you drop into a theater on the Orpheum vaudeville circuit tonight, you may be

amused by a young ventriloquist named Edgar Bergen talking to a dummy that he calls Charley McCarthy."

Even in the large cities, in September 1929, there were still silent pictures, and many were predicting that talkies would soon go out. Others were predicting that within a year television would be made available to the masses of people. In 1929, there was no transcontinental air service for passengers. There were no streamlined trains. Prohibition was considered the most serious problem confronting the nation.

There is fun and excitement in Mr. Allen's recital, but the all-pervading theme is tragedy. "Since Yesterday" is primarily the story of the depression and the efforts to cure it; all measured in terms of the average American citizen. At first, it did not dawn upon the people that the nation was in for a major depression. They tried to pass it off as a joke, but as unemployment mounted, savings dwindled, and actual starvation became a distinct possibility, it was no laughing matter.

As the country entered the third year of depression, more and more visible signs of disaster were apparent. Bread lines were becoming longer and longer. Settlements of the destitute were springing up in the outskirts of cities and on vacant lots—"groups of makeshift shacks constructed out of packing boxes, scrap iron, anything that could be picked up free in a diligent combing of the city dumps: shacks in which men and sometimes whole families of evicted people were sleeping on automobile seats carried from auto-graveyards, warming themselves before fires of rubbish in grease drums. Other visible signs



FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN

were "the homeless people sleeping in doorways or on park benches, and going the rounds of the restaurants for leftover, half-eaten biscuits, piecrusts, anything to keep the fires of life burning." More and more people, young and old, took to the road in the quest for jobs. It was estimated that by the beginning of 1933, at least a million transients were on the road.

"Perhaps the worst thing about this depression," writes Mr. Allen, was its inexorable continuance year after year. Men who have been sturdy and self-respecting workers can take unemployment without flinching for a few weeks, a few months, even if they have to see their families suffer; but it is different after a year . . . two years . . . three years. . . . Among the miserable creatures curled up on park benches or standing in dreary lines before the soup kitchens in 1932, were men who had been jobless since the end of 1929."

It is not Mr. Allen's purpose to pass judgment or to take sides on the many issues that shook the country during the thirties. His purpose is to tell the story as completely and as interestingly as possible. Nor does he indulge in prophecies about the future. He closes his book on a note of uncertainty.

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Europe Turns To Middle East

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

Near and Middle East this coming spring is very possible. Such a clash would be of concern to the entire world eventually, but immediately it would concern those powers which stretch from the Mediterranean Sea east to the western edge of Tibet, cutting a broad path between Asiatic Russia, in the north, and the British territories in the south. The countries making up this "buffer belt" are Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. Geographically they constitute an area known as the Middle East, and politically they are sometimes referred to as the Saadabad powers by reason of the fact that they met together at Saadabad, in 1937, and signed an important treaty of nonaggression. Any Russian drive southward toward British interests would be bound to affect one or more of the Saadabad states; while an Allied drive northward into Russia would do likewise.

Afghanistan and Iran

Each of the Saadabad countries serves as a special kind of shock absorber. Afghanistan, for example, presents a difficult obstacle in the path of any Russian drive down into northwest India by way of the famous Khyber Pass. This country, and its some 10 million Moslem tribesmen, is backward by all standards, and the British have encouraged it to remain backward. No Britisher wants to see Afghans building railroads and highways over which Russian armies might someday travel on their way to India. Thus the British have supported the present king, Mohammed Zahir Shah, who is perfectly willing to allow his country to travel the old paths, governing itself by ancient Islamic law, and living largely from agriculture and sheep raising.

Iran, which was formerly known as Persia, is a different matter. It is also a buffer state in the sense that it prevents Britain from striking north into Russia's vital oil-producing region around the Caspian Sea, and at the same time it holds Russia at a safe distance from the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. But the 15,000,000 people of Iran are by no means as backward as their Afghan neighbors, nor are they content to serve as buffers between Russia and Britain. Iran is a power in its



EYES ON THE NEAR EAST
The map shows the areas which may become involved in the European war. On the right, a statue of the British Lion stands guard over Suez.



ish will remain in the south. But since Britain controls the oil wells, and therefore the principal sources of Iranian revenues, the British have long held the upper hand in Iran, and their position has been strengthened by the recent signing of a new trade treaty which is beneficial to Iran. Although transportation in Iran was almost as inadequate as that of Afghanistan, 20 years ago, it has been greatly improved during the last 10 years as the result of the building of a railroad connecting the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf.

Iraq and Britain

With only 3,670,000 people, spread out over a rich alluvial plain between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, Iraq is also a case in itself. It does not border upon the Soviet Union, as do the other three Saadabad states, and its ties with England are strong. At the close of the World War, this region (then known as Mesopotamia) was taken from Turkey and mandated to Great Britain. The British gave up their mandate at the Treaty of Baghdad, in 1930. Since then Iraq has functioned as an independent state in all matters but those involving foreign relations, in which she is bound, by a clause in the treaty,

high Caucasus Mountains, and close to the route Russian armies would have to take moving south, and across the routes Allied armies would have to take in moving on Russia, lies Turkey.

Turkey—a Key Power

The importance of Turkey in relation to the European war has grown with every month that has passed. Turkey is one of the key members of the Balkan states. She dominates the Saadabad powers, and exercises influence over the Moslem states to the south—Palestine, Transjordan, Arabia, and Egypt. Turkey sits astride the narrow straits between the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Thus Turkey is all at once a Balkan power, a Mediterranean power, a Black Sea power, and a power in the Near and Middle East. In such a position, athwart the crossroads of commerce and communications between Europe and Asia, the Turks cannot avoid playing some part in international struggles, whether they want to or not. Germany's one-time dream of a Berlin-to-Baghdad Empire stretched through the heart of Turkey. Russia, anxious to secure her entrance to the Mediterranean from the Black to the Mediterranean Sea, must deal with Turkey, as a friend or as an enemy. The Allied powers, anxious to forestall Russian and German southward thrusts, and anxious to protect their own territories and investments in the Near East, must look also to Turkey. They must make friends with her, or fight her.

During the World War, it will be remembered, Turkey chose to fight on the side of Germany against Russia and the Allies. Today, a smaller but more compact, better-organized, and far stronger state, Turkey has apparently chosen the side of the Allies as opposed to Germany. When Europe began to prepare for the present war, the former Turkish dictator, Mustapha Kemal, and later his successor, Ismet Inonu, were subjected to a furious courtship by Germany on one side, and the Allies on the other. The Germans gave the Turks a \$60,000,000 loan. The Allies topped this with two loans, one of \$80,000,000, and another of \$167,000,000, and in addition, France ceded to Turkey the valuable port and district of Alexandretta, in northern Syria. A mutual assistance pact between Turkey and the Allies was signed last October. Under this treaty Turkey pledged herself to come to the defense of England and France if they should become involved in a Balkan or Mediterranean war caused by the aggression of some European power.

There was only one loophole in this treaty—a clause inserted at the insistence of the Turks to the effect that Turkey should not be compelled to go to the aid of the Allies if England or France should become embroiled in war with Russia. That is the way the treaty stands today, and it has helped to inject the element of mystery into the situation in the Near and Middle East. Has Turkey secretly agreed to support the Allies against Russia? Relations between Turkey and Russia have been extremely cool since the breakdown of Turkish-Russian talks in Moscow, this past winter, but nothing has happened since to

bring these two countries to the verge of war. Are the Turks convinced that Russia or Germany, or both, intend to open a great southward drive this coming spring? If so, Turkey's war preparations, her expulsion of German technicians from shipyards and armament factories, and her consultations with Allied military chiefs could be explained.

We have sketched above only the background of any conflict that might embroil Turkey, Iraq, Iran, or Afghanistan. A more detailed analysis will have to await further developments. It will have to be delayed until the aims of one side, at least, are made clear. If war should come, and if the Saadabad states should become embroiled with Russia on the side of the Allies (unless the present governments are overturned there is little possibility that any of them would turn against the Allies), Turkey could put perhaps 1,500,000 well-armed men into the field to bolster the Allied armies now gathering in the region. The army of Iraq numbers only 20,000. The regular army of Iran, numbering 32,000 troops, could probably be swelled greatly in man power, but it is doubtful that it could be well equipped.

Another possibility suggested by the gathering of Allied armies in the Near East is that the Allies wish to force Italy's hand by spreading the zone of war to the eastern Mediterranean in the hope that Italy will then feel the danger to her own security so great that she will abandon her policy of nonbelligerence and enter the war on the Allied side. A long series of secret meetings of Italy's supreme defense council, which began on February 7, when the tension first began to rise, suggests that the Italian government has not been indifferent to the fact that something important may be brewing to the east. Whether Italy would join the Allies if she did enter the war, is another question.

Questions and References

1. Why are the Saadabad powers so called?
2. What do Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan hold in common that may contribute to political unity among them?
3. What does the word "Anzac" mean?
4. Who is Mohammed Shah? Ismet Inonu?
5. Describe the existing relations between Great Britain and Iraq.

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Bahrain (bah-rain'), Baku (bah-koo'), Caucasus (koe'kah-sus), Clemenceau (kleh'mahn'soe'), Pedro Aguirre Cerda (pay'droe ah-gee'ray sair'dah—g as in go), Euphrates (u-fray'teez—u as in use), Galati (gah-lah'tee), Ismet Inonu (ees'met ee-noe'noo'), Karelian (kah-ree'lyahn), Mustapha Kemal (moos'tah-phah kay'mahl'), Kura (koo'rah), Mesopotamia (mess-oe-poe'tay'myah), Mohammed Zahir Shah (moe-hah'med zah'heer shah'), Pakhoi (bah'koi'), Regensburg (ray'gens-boorg—g as in go), Saadabad (sah-ah'dah-bahd), St. Cyr (san'seer'), Senegalese (seh-neh-gah-leez'), Tigris (ti'gris—first i as in ice, second i as in hit), Viipuri (vee'poo-ree').



SUNRISE ON SUEZ

WIDE WORLD

own right. Stretching over a huge plateau between the Indus and Tigris Rivers, it occupies an area one-fifth the size of the United States. While noted particularly for the excellence of its carpets, some \$3,000,000 worth of which are sold to the United States every year, Iran is the fourth largest oil producer in the world. Its production of petroleum in 1938, for example, stood at 77,200,000 barrels, a figure greatly in excess of Rumania's production for the same year, which amounted to only 48,400,000 barrels. Exploitation of the Iranian petroleum deposits is carried on largely by British interests, owned directly by the British government. For many years there has been in existence a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the British and the Russians to the effect that Russia shall confine her activities in Persia to the northern part, while the Brit-

to the course of Britain. Shortly after the war broke out last fall, Iraq broke off relations with Germany.

Although Iraq produces a little less than half as much oil as Iran (32,643,000 barrels in 1938), its chief international importance lies in its oil wells. The oil regions of Iran, Iraq, and the British-held island of Bahrain, are grouped in a sharp horseshoe curve around the Persian Gulf. In the event of war between Russia and the Allies, it is almost certain that Russia would attempt to destroy these important Allied petroleum sources. It is almost equally certain that the Allies would attempt to strike north into Russia's enormous oil fields around Baku on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. From this region come close to five-sixths of Russia's total oil production, which amounted in all to 202,300,000 barrels in 1938. Between these two regions lie the



WINTER CRUISE

President Roosevelt leaves for a vacation cruise in southern seas. The route mapped out for the President's ship was kept a closely guarded secret.

DOMESTIC

Convention Dates

Philadelphia will be the scene of the Republican convention this summer. Meeting in Washington recently, members of the Republican National Committee also announced that they had selected June 24 as the date for beginning the activity of nominating their presidential candidate. The date chosen is the latest in the summer that any Republican convention has met since the party was organized in 1856.

As soon as James A. Farley received news of the Republican decisions, he immediately announced that the Democrats will gather for their convention in Chicago on July 15—the latest date for his party since it met on August 29 in 1864. When the Democratic National Committee met earlier this month and accepted Chicago's invitation, it gave Chairman Farley the authority to choose the date.

The interest over which party would hold its convention last was aroused by the suggestion of some Republicans that they should reverse the usual order of recent years and outwait their Democratic rivals. President Roosevelt then proposed that the political activities of both parties should be held in check until late summer. Now that the decisions have been made, it remains to be seen what advantages, if any, either party can gain from its choice of convention city or date.

Contraband Worries

Maintaining our neutrality is a task which constantly creates perplexing difficulties for the State Department. The problem is one which the officials feel must be solved without sacrificing all our national rights, one by one. Nor do they desire to defend those rights—particularly the ones affecting shipping and mailing—in a manner that will involve us in disastrous controversies with any belligerent nation.

The matter of contraband control, for example, has caused perhaps the most worry. England, as we have reported several times, is constantly on the alert to prevent ship cargoes and mails from carrying war materials to Germany. The United States agrees to the legality of this aim, but opposes some of the methods. Our State Department contends that the Neutrality Act restricts American shipping to waters which are far from war zones; that this country, anxious to keep out of the war, is enforcing the act. But the British have been compelling American ships to enter contraband control stations and ports—areas regarded as war zones by the Germans.

Consequently, our government protests that if the British must search the ships, they should do so on the high seas, then permit the vessels to proceed to their destinations. The fact that the British have been delaying American ships as long as several weeks in the contraband stations has also raised a dispute.

Now the Germans have announced that

they have a legal right to sink American ships which have touched at contraband ports, even though the vessels were forced to go there by British warships. This viewpoint stirred up another legal battle. Each time the American position must be made clear, and this is often a tedious process. A great deal thus depends on the skill with which our State Department handles its innumerable negotiations.

In Congress

Among the major matters which Congress has been considering recently, international affairs continue to occupy a prominent position. The Senate approved an increase of more than \$100,000,000 in the funds of the Export-Import Bank. If the House supports this action, it will be possible for the bank to lend \$20,000,000 to Finland for nonmilitary purposes.

In the House, the naval appropriation bill is being debated. At the outset, the Appro-



COTTON STAMP

The Department of Agriculture will endeavor to increase the sale of cotton, as it is doing in the case of food with the food-stamp plan.

priations Committee recommended a cut of about \$11,500,000 below the budget requests for naval expenditures.

One of the hearing rooms at the Capitol has been the scene of a new phase in the inquiry conducted by the Temporary National Economic Committee. Senator O'Mahoney occupies the chair during the sessions of the group, which is better known as the "monopoly committee." At present, the committee is inquiring into the financial methods and policies of the 26 leading life insurance companies, whose officials are the chief witnesses. The committee is trying to discover to what extent these companies—with a total of 24 billion dollars in assets—may influence economic conditions in the United States.

Congress is also formulating its opinions



POLITICAL ARENAS

The Republicans will open their national convention in the Philadelphia Auditorium (left), on June 24. The Democrats will begin theirs in the Chicago Stadium (right) on July 15.

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

about the National Labor Relations Board and the reciprocal trade agreements—two subjects which have been examined by congressional committees.

Justice Black

It will be three years ago next August that President Roosevelt appointed Hugo L. Black to the Supreme Court. At that time, a major controversy arose when a newspaper reporter discovered that Mr. Black, then a senator from Alabama, was a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. The new justice admitted the fact, but affirmed in a dramatic, nation-wide broadcast that he sincerely believed in law and order—in equal protection for all races.

These events were recalled recently when, on Lincoln's birthday, Justice Black delivered the Supreme Court's decision that four Negroes, condemned to be executed by the state of Florida, should not die. The men had been rounded up with a group of suspects following the murder of a white merchant. The four were quizzed for a week, and after an all-night session of questioning, they admitted their guilt. During the entire time, however, they were not permitted to see friends, relatives, or lawyers, and there were reasons to believe that third-degree methods had been employed to obtain the confessions.

Such methods, said Justice Black, indicated that the Negroes had been denied their constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees that a state shall not "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Justice Black pointed out that the courts must carry out this constitutional provision to prevent any citizens from becoming the "victims of prejudice and public excitement."

Cotton Stamps

Southern warehouses are bulging with thousands of bales of surplus cotton. Textile manufacturers, who would ordinarily buy this cotton, have idle machinery and workers, but they feel that they are already turning out all the garments and the bolts of cloth which the public will buy.

The government recognizes that thousands of families are not buying cotton garments and goods simply because they do not have enough money. For that reason, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation has devised a cotton-stamp plan—similar in some respects to the food-stamp plan—to help move some of the surplus cotton from warehouses to factories, and finally, through dry goods stores, to consumers.

The government is printing special stamps which it will sell, in certain experimental cities, to families who are either receiving or are eligible to receive relief assistance. For example, such a family can go to the local relief office, pay four dollars, and receive stamps which will purchase eight dollars' worth of cotton garments or cloth at any dry goods store. Whatever amount is involved, the idea is that the relief family gets twice as much as it would have received by paying actual cash at the stores.

Only clothes or goods which are made entirely from cotton manufactured in this country can be purchased with the stamps. The

plan assures that the American cotton surplus will be reduced, and that the relief families will have some of the garments which they need. A man's purchases are limited according to the size of his family. A family of two, for example, cannot purchase as many stamps during a given period as the government will sell to a family of six. Merchants and banks will receive cash from the government for the stamps which come into their hands.

New Weapons

So far the European war has failed to produce any startling new weapons or military tactics. In the opinion of Major George F. Eliot, well-known military expert and author, each new war tends to begin, in these respects, where the last one ended. The World War, for example, was fought at first with weapons and methods which dated back to the 1890's and beyond.

After months of fighting, however, the generals began to make more extensive use of machine guns, airplanes, tanks, and gases. Submarines, too, were not so well known until



IT'S LEAP YEAR BERDANIER IN SHREVEPORT (LA.) JOURNAL

later in the war. By 1918, the effectiveness of these weapons was better realized, and now they are employed widely. They have been improved constantly during the intervening years, and tested in Asia, Ethiopia, and Spain. But the terrible devices which fiction writers have imagined—bacterial bombs, death rays, and deadlier gases—have not appeared.

Major Eliot does not rule out the possibility that such weapons may be introduced. As the chief developments so far, however, he points to the coordination of land and air attacks, to improved automatic firearms, and to magnetic mines and torpedoes. Otherwise, he says, the generals are reluctant to trust new methods or arms on a major scale, although by the time this war is ended, it is likely that some innovations will have appeared.

FOREIGN

Week in Europe

(1) Finland

Having halted its operations in the northern wilderness of Finland, the Soviet army concentrated heavy artillery fire on the southern end of the Mannerheim Line, last week, penetrating the outer defenses and pushing toward the important city of Viipuri. To understand the nature of this operation it is necessary to remember that the word "line" is misleading. Actually, the main Finnish defenses on the narrow Karelian isthmus are built in the form of a heavily fortified zone of concrete and iron pillboxes from 21 to 30 miles deep. The Russians have pushed into this zone, but there are still (at the time of writing) many fortifications in front of them. The deeper



H. & E.-ACHE

Home and Abroad

The Doing, Saying, and Thinking

they go, the more difficult advance becomes. On the other hand, the farther they advance, the thinner the zone of forts before them becomes. The fighting now in progress may decide whether the Russians will break through the entire zone, or whether they will be stopped from sheer exhaustion. If a breakthrough is achieved, the vital areas of southern Finland—the "heart of the land," as someone has called them—will lie exposed and unprotected under Soviet guns.

Since the Finns cannot replace their killed and wounded, as the Russians can, it has been estimated that they need at least 100,000 more troops, plus a large amount of additional equipment to hold the line. The number of foreign volunteers now in Finland does not exceed 20,000 at the outside. How much help the Allies have sent is unknown, but it does not appear to have amounted to much.

(2) Norway

While Finland fought desperately to save the Mannerheim Line, Norway, her neighbor to the west, found herself the object of a hot diplomatic cross fire between Germany and England, last week. The dispute was over



the case of the German steamer *Altmark*, which, carrying 326 British prisoners, was making its way slowly down the coast of Norway, inside Norwegian territorial waters, when forced aground by a British destroyer. British sailors swarmed aboard the *Altmark*, killed seven Germans, and then departed with the British prisoners. The German government immediately accused Norway of having failed to prevent a British raid into Norwegian territorial waters in violation of international law. The Norwegian government protested to London that the British raid had been illegal, and demanded a return of the prisoners. The British government replied that under international law Norway was guilty of (1) having failed to discover the presence of British prisoners on the German ship, and (2) failing to intern the British prisoners as international law practices require. The case of the *Altmark* illustrates the difficulties facing all neutrals in Europe during the war.

Far East

While Japanese statesmen were still discussing matters arising from the expiration of the Japanese-American commercial treaty of 1911, recently, the government of Japan officially denounced the arbitration and good-will treaty into which it entered with the Netherlands in 1933. Although the Japanese maintain that they have done this merely because the League of Nations is no longer in a position to arbitrate Japanese-Dutch disputes, as the treaty specified, some observers have interpreted the move as a step to apply pressure for the purpose of obtaining more oil from the Netherlands Indies. Some believe that Japan may even be preparing to extend her program of conquests southward into the East Indies, shortly, but that is at present a matter for conjecture.

In the meantime, Japan's huge military machine in China has come to one of those mysterious halts which have occurred several times since the war broke out. In the far south, close to the border of French Indo-China, Japanese forces seem actually to be withdrawing in large numbers, and retiring toward the port of Pakhoi where a fleet of empty transports are apparently waiting to embark the troops and carry them elsewhere. This may mean that the Japanese army is preparing for action elsewhere, or that it is now content merely to rest for a while on its gains.

Enemy Trading?

Some years after the close of the World War, many people were shocked to learn that while Allied and German armies had been locked in a death grip at the front, private interests on both sides had been profiting by trading with the enemy through neutrals. An American trade magazine of the steel industry, *Iron Age*, recently printed a dispatch from a correspondent in Copenhagen which, if true, suggests that such trading may be in progress again.

France, for example, recently ordered six million tons of coal from Belgium, while Germany ordered four million tons of iron ore from the same country. It is the opinion of the *Iron Age* correspondent that Belgium is no more able to produce 4,000,000 tons of iron ore for export than she is to consume, over her ordinary needs, imports of some 6,000,000 tons of coal. He adds that

as both coal and the ore will be loaded on Belgian cars, the assumption is that most of the coal will come from Germany and the iron ore will go to Germany. . . . That there is also not unimportant other trade via Belgium between France and Germany has been recently confirmed by other sources.

Of course, in times such as these, all such stories must be taken with a grain of salt, and this particular story has been denied by the governments involved. But in the light of 1914-18 experiences, and in view of the fact that the Allies need more coal, while Germany urgently needs iron ore, they cannot be discounted entirely. Every country at war has a "trading-with-the-enemy" act which provides harsh penalties (usually death) for violations of its provisions, but sometimes these laws have been overlooked when the stakes are sufficiently high. The real facts of the case will probably not be known for some years.

Danube Commission

From the time they begin as a thin trickle in the depths of the Black Forest until they pour through a wide, swampy delta into the



WAITING TO BE SEARCHED

The British are systematically searching the ships of neutrals in order to seize contraband. Contraband control stations have been established, where neutral vessels are required to pass inspection. The above picture shows ships anchored off the coast of England waiting to be searched.

Black Sea, the waters of the River Danube touch the shores of Germany, old Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The regulation of shipping on that river is, therefore, an international problem. From the German city of Regensburg, the head of Danube navigation, down the river as far as Galati, Rumania, such matters are taken care of by the International Danube Commission, which is made up of representatives from all states bordering upon the river. From Galati to the mouth of the Danube these matters are governed by the European Danube Commission, which was founded in 1878. At first, only Rumania, Great Britain, and France were represented on this lower-Danube commission, but Germany and Italy have since been included.

Recently the European Danube Commission met for its first full session since the present war broke out in Europe. Representatives from England and France gathered around a table not only with diplomats from Rumania and Italy, but from the capital of their enemy, Germany, as well. In a perfectly routine fashion, the friends, enemies, and jittery neutral representatives discussed the appointment of new officials, and the Danube shipping problems caused by the war.

Chilean Front

The distinction of being the only South American republic to be governed by a "Popular Front" administration has fallen, during the last 14 months, to Chile, that narrow, mountainous land which stretches like a shoestring from Peru down the Pacific coast of the continent to Cape Horn. During this period the Chilean government has been headed by President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who, although a rich man, is supported by small businessmen, small landowners, and farmers, and most of the labor unions.

Dictator in Paraguay

In spite of the fact that Paraguay won its long war with Bolivia over the tropical wilderness known as the Gran Chaco, this landlocked South American republic has had little opportunity to enjoy the fruits of victory since the armistice was signed, in 1936. With the peace, Paraguay increased its land area by 91,000 square miles, but at the same time its population shranked from 1,500,000 to 936,000 because of the war.

Politically, things have hardly been any better. One dictatorship followed another, and each successive dictator declared that constitutional rule was all very well, but the country should be put in order and taught how to rule itself first. When the first presidential elections in seven years were held, last April, it appeared that constitutional rule might be restored. Paraguayan voters elected General Jose Felix Estigarribia, who was then minister to Washington, as president. At his inauguration, Estigarribia promised to uphold the constitution and to repair the country's sagging economic structure. But at the same time, he failed to abolish military rule completely, and denied to his opponents the right of free speech in criticizing his methods.

Recently the various political opponents of Estigarribia declared they would take no part in the coming elections, since it was apparent that they would not be free elections. The Congress of Paraguay, dominated by members of the Liberal party which had supported the president, resigned in a body. In reply to these moves, Estigarribia walked to the radio and proclaimed himself dictator. Suspending the existing constitution and declaring his intention of drawing up a new one, he stated that he intended to wipe out political anarchy, and that as soon as the people could show themselves fit to govern, he would restore constitutional rule.



JAPANESE SUPPLY COLUMN

Under guard, a Japanese supply column winds over the rolling terrain along the Kwangtung-Kwangsi border in China. It is carrying materials for fighting forces located in an undisclosed region.



EARLY DAYS OF FEDERAL PATRONAGE
Office seekers in the lobby of a Washington hotel.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Spoils System in U. S. History

THROUGHOUT American history, the problem of selecting employees to work for the federal government has been serious. Scarcely an administration, from that of George Washington to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, has not been affected by the issue. The spoils system of appointment, whereby government jobs are handed out in reward for aid to the party, has stood in opposition to the merit system, whereby employees are chosen on the basis of ability and competence as displayed by competitive examinations.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

While George Washington was particularly scrupulous in filling the few posts in the federal service, neither he nor his successor, John Adams, ever knowingly appointed a member of the opposition to power. The result was that when Thomas Jefferson became president, he found all the offices filled with good Federalists. Jefferson's followers were determined to oust the Federalists and fill the public offices with loyal party members. Thus vacancies were created by removing those Federalists who had been placed in office during the preceding administrations.

Jackson and Spoils System

To Andrew Jackson goes the credit for having launched the spoils system on a really firm footing. Everyone who was suspected of having supported John Quincy Adams in the campaign was ousted. "To the victor belong the spoils" became the slogan of the day. The significance of the Jacksonian philosophy has been summarized as follows by the historians Morison and Commager in their "Growth of the American Republic":

Broadly speaking, Jackson introduced the spoils system from the states, where it had always existed, into the federal government. His appointments lowered the general tone and efficiency of the service. Aged and respectable Jeffersonians were replaced by young, often disreputable, and sometimes corrupt Jackson men. The spoils system did not noticeably increase the power of the President, for even Jackson had to please congressmen, and the Senate negated many of his nominations; but it greatly increased the power of party and of the professional element within parties, by offering tangible rewards for faithful service.

Succeeding administrations were even more flagrant in their abuses. Every change of administration resulted in a mad scramble for positions as postmasters, collectors of customs, judges, surveyors, clerks, and dozens of other posts in the federal service. Service to the party and political pull were the determining factors. Those who were successful in landing the jobs were

assessed a percentage of their salary to fill the party coffers. Needless to say, corruption and inefficiency marked a large part of the federal service.

Following the Civil War, an effective movement for civil service reform was launched. The record of the Grant administration, in this respect, was particularly unsavory and a group of influential citizens organized themselves into a Civil Service Commission for the purpose of forcing reforms upon Congress and the President. But the recommendations of the Commission were ignored and the worst abuses of the spoils system continued in practice.

Reform Begins

But the movement suffered only a temporary setback, for every administration following that of Grant was confronted by the issue. President Rutherford B. Hayes, a friend of reform, actually took steps to wipe out some of the most serious abuses. He declared that no assessments should be made among government workers and that officeholders should not be allowed to take part in the management of political campaigns. He removed a number of jobholders from office because of their political activities.

The greatest single impetus to the reform movement came with the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed officeholder, which dramatically called attention to the evils of the system. Contrary to expectations, President Arthur, who had previously been a friend of the machine politicians, lent his support to the movement for reform, and the Pendleton Civil Service Act was placed on the statute books, in 1883, by a large majority of both houses of Congress. The Pendleton Act created a Civil Service Commission, established a set of rules for appointments, including competitive examinations, and prohibited the assessment of officeholders. About 12 per cent of the total government workers of the time were affected by the provisions of the law.

This civil service law not only immediately placed some 14,000 federal workers "under civil service"; it authorized the President to extend the requirements for appointments to other branches of the government. Practically every president since that time has made extensions. By the turn of the century, about 100,000 of the federal government's employees had been placed under the classified civil service and received their jobs on the basis of merit rather than political pull. By 1936, nearly half a million workers had been placed "under civil service," and today slightly over two-thirds of the federal workers—almost a million in number—are so classified. The passage of the Ramspeck bill would place practically all of them on a merit basis.

Personalities in the News

IN the House of Representatives there is no more devoted adherent to the merit system in government than **Robert Ramspeck** of Georgia, chairman of the House Civil Service Committee and sponsor of the Ramspeck Civil Service Bill. Ever since 1929, when he was sent to the House to fill the unexpired term of a congressman who had died in office, Ramspeck has interested himself in this cause. Although his name has been linked more and more with civil service since he was advanced to the chairmanship of the committee in 1934, Ramspeck's work has been largely anonymous and few realize that he is responsible for the uniform sick- and annual-leave law, for the law classifying postmasters, and for other pieces of legislation governing Uncle Sam's nearly 1,000,000 employees.

The congressman, a small, blue-eyed man, who usually has a pipe clenched between his teeth, will be 50 years old in September, although he looks much younger. He was born in Decatur, Georgia, and attended public schools. His real education, however, did not begin until he was 22, and he went to work on Capitol Hill as secretary to a congressman. After a few years of this he returned to the South to marry and to win a law degree from the Atlanta Law School. The nine years intervening between his graduation and his election to the House, Ramspeck spent practicing law and serving as prosecuting attorney in his home town. He also represented his county for two years in the Georgia Assembly.

The southerner, whose congressional district adjoins that of Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, does not confine his interest to civil service. He is the second Democrat, in point of seniority, on both the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Labor Committee. He has been particularly active on the latter, for the Wage and Hour Act has been hard on many of his constituents, as it has on the South as a whole.

Civil service reform is Ramspeck's first love, however, and two weeks ago he undertook the delicate task of conveying his latest bill through the House. It is difficult to say who inspired the bill or guaranteed its endorsement by the House majority, but Ramspeck personally had a large hand in drafting it and in getting a majority of his own committee to support it. When it came up for debate it bore the administration's label and its passage was more or less assured. Mrs. Edith Rogers of Massachusetts, the committee's ranking Republican member, denounced the measure and a revolt in the administration's ranks forced an amendment to the bill calling for state quotas. The Civil Service Commission has always had difficulty in administering such quotas, but the House felt that they would ensure a more equitable distribution of federal jobs. Ramspeck, acting on behalf of the committee, then secured the adoption of an amendment excluding WPA from the provisions of the bill, and the latter was passed and sent to the Senate.



ROBERT RAMSPECK

"HE is ugly, misshapen, twisted; he must have had a lot of kicks when he was little. But he is intelligent. He has something to him like dark fire. He is a man—how shall I say it?—dangerous; he is capable of achieving the impossible." Thus Georges Clemenceau, former premier of France, once characterized **General Maxime Weygand**, who now commands the French army in the Near East, and who is said to be slated for the command of all the Allied forces now mysteriously gathering in that region.

General Weygand is today an old man, 73 years of age. Not much is known concerning his youth. He was born in Belgium, but moved to France at an early age and was graduated from St. Cyr, the French West Point, at the age of 20. His rise through the ranks of the French army was so rapid that the Allied commander in chief, Marshal Foch, made him his chief of staff in the later years of the World War.

Although Weygand was considered one of France's leading tacticians, he was at his best when sent out on a special assignment calling for personal resourcefulness and tact. Upon such an assignment he was sent to Poland, in 1920, when the Soviet armies were battering at the gates of Warsaw. By "filling in the gaps," as he expressed it, and reorganizing the hard-pressed Polish army, Weygand managed to turn the tide, and the Soviets were turned back and pursued into Russia. Reporting on Weygand's Polish venture, Clemenceau stated, "He went to Poland. I don't know what he did there, but what he did had



GENERAL MAXIME WEYGAND

to be done. He came back, but didn't say anything. You don't know what he did or what he's about."

Weygand is a devout Catholic. It has been said that during the World War he used to pray with Marshal Foch at mass every morning. Whether rightly or wrongly, he has been suspected of monarchist leanings, and regarded with distrust by the liberal and radical political groups in France. This distrust made Weygand's postwar career somewhat difficult, although at various times he served as governor general of Syria, inspector general, and chief of staff in the army. While in France he lives quietly with his wife in a modest Paris apartment, walking to and from his office.

Without breaking his customary tight-lipped silence on all official subjects, General Weygand has managed to make known a dislike for Hitler, during the last five years, which is only equaled in intensity by his dislike for Soviet Communism. Which of these he has been sent to combat in the Near East is a matter which has aroused considerable speculation. But whether he has been sent out on a special mission, and if it is intended that he lead a large Allied force against Russia or Germany from the Near East, Weygand himself has had no comment to make upon the subject—nor is he likely to have anything to say in the future.



JUNIOR KIWANIS CLUB
Composed of students of the Northumberland, Pennsylvania, Junior-Senior High School.

• Vocational Outlook •

Government Employment

THE federal government employs nearly a million people and the various state and local governments and agencies two or three times again that number. This great army of government workers includes Supreme Court justices and janitors of small-town post offices. And although neither of these two extremes are, as a rule, employed by the merit system, the vast majority do obtain their jobs by competitive examination. Moreover, the trend is toward the inclusion of more and more government workers under the rules of federal, state, and local civil service, as articles elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER point out.

Positions which are not governed by civil service are all too often governed by politics, and in many cases some degree of "pull" is necessary to obtain them. While this is all very well for persons in high positions, like cabinet ministers, any young person contemplating a life of public service should strive for the security that a civil service rating brings with it.

Indeed, many thousands of young people are striving for this very thing, and the competition for every position opened is intense. Anyone seeking a civil service position should decide very carefully on the type of job for which he would be best suited. He should then find out what civil service units offer such positions—all governments employ a certain number of people who do the same type of work—and he should find out when the next competition will be held for this position. If it is a federal job, such an inquiry should be addressed to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., and the Commission will send a copy of its latest circular with a list of the places where examinations are held. State and local civil service units will do the same.

The job seeker should then apply for permission to take the examination, and, if accepted, prepare very thoroughly for the test, since only a few pass, and of those who do, only a few are given jobs and the rest put on a waiting list. Certain persons, such as war veterans, are sometimes given preference in these examinations, and often it helps those seeking a federal job to be from a state which has relatively few federal job holders.

Obviously more people obtain, and therefore the individual may stand a better chance of obtaining, poorly paid jobs than highly paid ones. There are fewer highly paid jobs and many of them are filled from the lower ranks of civil service. For admittance to those lower ranks one need have only a high school education.

The Commission likes to distinguish between persons who enter a "life" of civil service and those who enter a "career" of civil service. The "life" is pleasant and, to a great many, even enviable. Federal employees in the lower ranks are better paid, as a rule, than those doing the same work in private industry. They have 26

days a year of paid leave, and are allowed 15 days of sick leave. They handle, very efficiently, the routine work of the government, and eventually they retire with pensions.

A "career" is another matter, more arduous and more remunerative. Under civil service, employees have "ratings" which determine their salary, and these ratings, in large measure, are determined by education as well as by personal ability. The employee who wants a "career" may enter civil service as a high school graduate, but to get far will have to take a college course or its equivalent in his spare time. This is not easy and, of course, takes longer than the three or four years of full-time study required for a degree. Many in civil service go on, taking M.A.'s and even Ph.D.'s, and raising their rating and salary



TAKING A CIVIL SERVICE EXAM

correspondingly. As a former commissioner put it, "Career service implies a drift toward professionalism."

There are openings in the government for professional men of many kinds: doctors, lawyers, foresters, engineers, statisticians, to name only a few. In Washington and in state capitals and other large cities, educational opportunities are good for those who wish to take "in-service training." The George-Deen Act of 1936 provides for federal aid to state and local educational projects of this nature. Professional men can make as much as \$8,000 or \$9,000 a year in the government under civil service, and there are a few somewhat more highly paid jobs at the top which are not governed by civil service and which are lost when the party in power is defeated. A number of such professional men eventually go into private business, and if they have held positions of responsibility and are thoroughly familiar with, say, the complex financial practices of the government, or the government's up-to-date farming methods, they are at a premium. Others, of course, remain in the government all their lives and amply justify the expense of training and educating them.

Student Activities In Many Schools Lead To Training In Citizenship

DOES the education you are getting in school make you a better citizen of your community? Or, on the other hand, are you learning things in school which have little to do with the way you get along in your home, your neighborhood, or your town? In many places, the teachers and students are thinking about these questions and trying to answer them. Students are engaging in activities which they will continue after the school life is over. They are getting started at performing the kind of acts which the citizens perform in the community. They are tending to break down the line which divides the schoolwork from the life outside.

One of the schools which is working with this problem is the Junior-Senior High School of Northumberland, Pennsylvania. The Northumberland students have formed a Junior Kiwanis Club. This year the club has as members 30 to 35 boys from the senior high school. The club meets regularly each two weeks at the noon hour for luncheon, each boy bringing his own lunch. The meetings are conducted according to the same plan as that of the Kiwanis Club of the city. There is always a member of the adult Kiwanis Club present, not to take part, but merely to show the boys that the parent club is interested in their work.

The activities of this club are similar to those of the adult organization. Here are samples of the work which has been done during the year:

The members of the club painted and repaired the high school stage scenery, the boys themselves doing most of the work. The club purchased clothing for a student who could not otherwise have finished high school. It made contributions to the Red Cross, to the town library, to the tuberculosis society, and to the local hospital.

At Christmas time the club gave baskets of food to 26 needy families. Last spring it sponsored a May Day program in all of the Northumberland schools. This month it is holding a Father's Day Banquet to which members of the adult club of the community will be guests. Speakers have been brought in to address the club.

This club is sponsoring a Junior Key Club in the junior high school. It will follow in the steps of the Junior Kiwanis Club in its service to school and community.

The boys in this club are learning through

actual experience to do the kind of community work which is done by public-spirited adult citizens. It will be easy for these boys to graduate into the adult life of Northumberland. They will be better citizens because of the training which they have had in school.

* * * *

Another interesting activity is reported from the Berkeley, California, High School, Polytechnic High School, Long Beach, California, and Wells High School, Chicago. These schools furnish speakers for community projects. The Berkeley plan is typical. This school has a course in public speaking, and about 200 students are taking this work. Each one of them becomes automatically a member of the Speakers' Bureau. When any kind of campaign is going on in the city and speakers are needed, they may be selected from this class or bureau. Letters have been sent to organizations in the city stating that four-minute speakers are available whenever they may be needed. When a call comes for speakers, the class chooses the students who are considered best qualified to serve.

There are many calls upon the class. Students are sent out to speak during safety education week, fire-prevention week, and scouting week. They also help to raise money for the Red Cross.

"To speak whenever a good cause needs your voice," has been part of the creed of the Speakers' Bureau. Active participation in community affairs has given the pupils a real understanding of the community of which they are a part. These students are acquiring skill in public speaking and, at the same time, are putting their schoolwork to use in the public interest. By speaking in public in connection with actual community work, the students learn a great deal more than if they stayed in the schoolroom and engaged in debates which were carried on merely for the purpose of giving them training. They are getting into the habit of doing the kind of thing which good adult citizens do. All they need to do if they are to play their part in adult life is to keep on doing the sort of thing which they did in school. Schoolwork of this kind is very effective in training for adult citizenship. It also makes the schoolwork more vital and interesting.

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

1. What group of soldiers make up the Anzac?
2. The Republican party will hold its convention in the same city in which it held its last presidential convention. True or false?
3. What government agency has admitted that its regional members instituted a lobbying campaign on Congress? (a) WPA; (b) ICC; (c) NLRB; (d) HOLC.
4. Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy has announced that he will enter the race for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. True or false?
5. When the President left on his fishing trip, he took how many newspapermen along with him? (a) three; (b) 11; (c) 17; (d) 28.
6. There were more automobile fatalities in 1939 than in 1938. True or false?
7. What federal agency has the power to reduce, as it recently did, the coach fare on eastern railroads from two-and-a-half cents to two cents?
8. It is reported that Germany is building vessels of the *Deutschland* class, such as were used in the World War for (a) long-distance raiding; (b) cannonading coastal towns; (c) towing captured vessels; (d) carrying cargo.
9. The 1940 New York World's Fair has been abandoned. True or false?
10. Following the arrest of 17 young men for plotting to overthrow the government, many Christian Front members were found in the New York (a) schools and colleges; (b) police department; (c) fire department; (d) theatrical society.
11. The naval appropriations bill, as it left the House, had specific provisions for the fortification of Guam. True or false?
12. Joseph A. Gainard, who has been in the news again in relation to a labor con-

- troversy, is captain of one of these vessels: (a) the *City of Flint*; (b) the *Manhattan*; (c) *H.M.S. Hood*; (d) *U.S.S. Wasp*.
13. Who is chairman of the House Committee on Civil Service?
14. Who is in command of French troops in the Near East?
15. The sunken *Wakama* may be the subject of an international protest because it (a) carried United States mail; (b) was stopped by a British warship inside the American safety belt; (c) had been chartered by the United States government; (d) was an Argentine vessel and therefore neutral.



16. Whom has the President sent to several capitals of Europe as a special envoy?
17. In what department is the Patent Office?
18. What Central American country boasts that it has "more schools than soldiers"?
19. The President ordered special funds to be spent for relief in one of these areas because of the severe storms suffered there recently: (a) New England; (b) California; (c) the Great Lakes area; (d) the southeastern states.
20. The American Youth Congress resolved that this country should make loans to the Finns. True or false?

Civil Service Changes Asked

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

unclassified workers receive their appointments through political pull and not through merit as shown by competitive examination. Passage of the Ramspeck bill would bring the great majority of these unclassified workers under the rules of the classified civil service.

Most of the agencies which remain outside the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission are those which have been established during the last few years. When the New Deal was ushered in, scores of new bureaus, agencies, and commissions were created to carry out its provisions. Thousands upon thousands of new workers were placed on the federal pay roll. With certain exceptions, the positions were filled without regard to the rules of the classified civil service.

Effect Upon Spoils System

If the Senate approves the Ramspeck bill and the measure is enacted into law, most of these agencies will be brought under the classified civil service. Some of the more important of these agencies are the Public Works Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, the United States Housing Authority, the Surplus Commodities Corporation, and many others. In fact, the only important agency to remain outside the classified civil service would be the Work Projects Administration. The reason for this exception is that the WPA is regarded as a temporary agency and that, therefore, it would be a mistake to give its employees civil service status.

Passage of the Ramspeck bill, in the form adopted by the House of Representatives, would go a long way toward eliminating the spoils system inaugurated on a wide scale by Andrew Jackson. It would leave only a few positions to be filled by politicians. The law would not oust those already employed from their jobs. Those who are now working for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for example, would hold their jobs, provided they are able to pass a noncompetitive examination. But all future appointments would be made on the basis of successful passing of a competitive civil service examination open to all. Those who have received the highest grades in these examinations will receive the appointments in the future; assuming, naturally, that the bill is finally enacted into law.

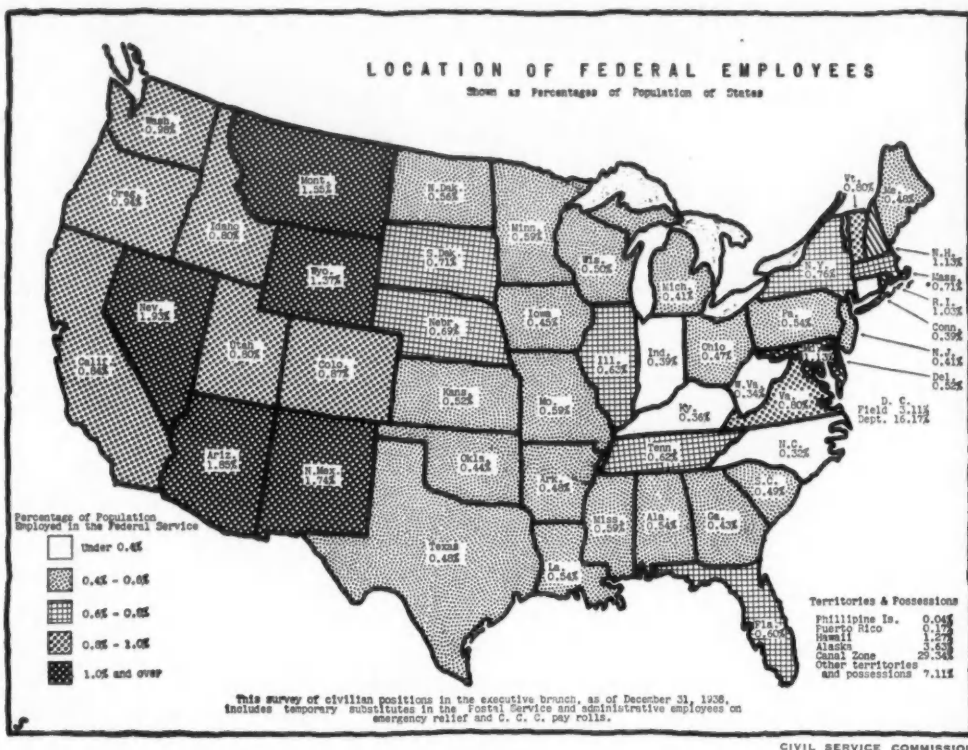
It would be a mistake to assume that everyone, even those who favor civil service reform, endorses the Ramspeck bill.

These critics contend that to blanket into the civil service 240,000 workers would be merely to entrench the Democratic party in power. They point out that the Roosevelt administration created dozens of agencies, employing thousands upon thousands of workers, and that most of these workers are Democrats who have been given their positions for political reasons. If these workers are now blanketed into the civil service, they will hold their jobs permanently. When the Republicans come into office, they will find that all the jobs are filled with Democrats who cannot be removed.

It must be admitted that all this is true. But it must also be admitted that this is the procedure by which most progress has been made in civil service reform in our history. Republican presidents in the past have blanketed large numbers of workers into the civil service. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and Hoover, to mention but a few of the Republicans, all blanketed federal workers into the civil service at the end of their administrations. Nearly every Democratic president has followed the same course.

Such a procedure naturally benefits the party in power, for it makes permanent the jobs it has given to its supporters. However, such a benefit is merely temporary, for in due time the workers who have been blanketed in, die or retire, and the vacancies are filled by persons who have successfully passed competitive examinations and received their appointments on the basis of merit. The political effects of this blanketing-in process are therefore temporary, and the permanent effects are favorable to the merit system rather than to the spoils system. As the *New York Times* has stated editorially: "The classified civil service can never be extended if the theory is followed that the party in power has an undue advantage over its successors and opponents."

The Ramspeck bill, as passed by the House, contained one amendment which may present complications as the effort is made to blanket into the classified service the thousands of workers now on the unclassified lists. That amendment merely provides for the strict enforcement of the rule that civil service jobs be apportioned



among the states according to their population. At the present time, the quota of many states is exceeded and many others do not have their quota on the federal pay roll. Several states surrounding the District of Columbia, such as Maryland and Virginia, have several times more than their allotted number of employees, and 39 states have considerably less than their quota.

The amendment included in the House bill prevents any employees from states with more than their quota from being placed under the classified civil service until the quotas of the other states are filled. If this amendment is passed by the Senate and strictly enforced, it will cause a delay in extending the classified civil service status to employees, but eventually the quotas will be adjusted and the provisions of the bill carried out with respect to nearly all federal employees.

Other Reforms Suggested

While it is recognized that enactment of the Ramspeck bill would go a long way toward eliminating the spoils system from the federal government, it is but one of the many reforms which have been suggested by students of public administration. The increasing activities of government during recent years have created a great responsibility for the selection of the best equipped and most competent of workers. Selection through competitive examinations is one way of achieving this result, but it is not the only way. In order to assure the greatest efficiency in the government service, provision must be made for recognition and advancement. At present, in many branches of the government service, it is difficult for workers to advance to higher positions, to obtain increases in pay. There is a tendency, therefore, for many employees to get into ruts, to show little initiative. If greater recognition were afforded for competence and efficiency, it is argued, a higher type of service would be established.

Closely allied to this problem is that of compensation. It is generally recognized that for the less specialized positions, the salary range of the government is higher than that of private employment. Clerks, stenographers, and those performing general routine duties obtain considerably more than those outside the government service. However, in the higher and intermediate posts, the salary range is lower than in private industry. Investigation has shown that men and women with specialized training obtain from 100 to 500 per cent more in private industry than in government service. The result is that many of the more competent workers are not attracted to government service but turn rather to private industry for employment. If the caliber of government workers in these positions is to improve, it is argued, there must be an adjustment of salary ranges.

If a truly efficient public service is to be established, some means must be found to attract the most able people from all the professions. In an address given last fall, Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed offered a few suggestions as to means of eliminating this handicap to progress:

Our problem is to see that the cream of available material moves toward government service. . . . Deans of graduate and vocational schools would perform a great public service if they would take a greater interest in guiding their students toward public life. The close relationship between the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges has resulted in great good to both by virtue of the constant flow of trained men into the personnel of that department.

Likewise, in the colleges and high schools, the interest in public life is not so strong as one would like to see it. From these graduates, with their broad foundation of study, the nation will draw its leaders for the future, not only in business, the professions, and elective offices, but also to administer the laws and guide the operation of the thousands of governmental units throughout the land. There is a growing tendency to broaden the number of and intensify the instruction in the courses on government. If, in addition to this, the academic leaders will add their influence toward inducing young graduates to enter public life as a career, it will greatly assist in increasing the number of suitable applicants.

... Though some sneer at those who make a profession of the public service, I believe one finds in city, state, and nation, as many fine examples of useful lives, proportionately, as in any other phase of human activity. To this opportunity for service, however, there must be added the chance for advancement to the highest honors, a dignity of position, and a fair measure of security. In this way our governments will develop a true career service.

Questions and References

1. What is the difference between the classified civil service and the unclassified?
2. About what percentage of the employees of the federal government are under the classified service today?
3. What are the main provisions of the Ramspeck bill and what effect would it have upon the spoils system?
4. What further steps have been recommended as means of improving the quality of government service?

REFERENCES: (a) Improving the Civil Service, by S. Reed. *Vital Speeches*, October 15, 1939, pp. 27-29. (b) When You Work for the Government, by W. Hudson. *Survey*, November 1939, pp. 331-334. (c) Proposed Reform of the American Civil Service. *Congressional Digest*, November 1937, pp. 259-288. (d) Story of Civil Service, by J. B. Burns. *National Education Association Journal*, January 1940, p. 15. (e) Careers in Government, by L. D. White. *Reader's Digest*, July 1937, pp. 102-105.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. Australian and New Zealand Army Corps; 2. false; 3. (c); 4. false; 5. (a); 6. true; 7. the Interstate Commerce Commission; 8. (d); 9. false; 10. (b); 11. false; 12. (a); 13. Robert Ramspeck; 14. General Maxime Weygand; 15. (b); 16. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles; 17. Commerce; 18. Costa Rica; 19. (a); 20. false.

Smiles

"Pop, a man's wife is his better half, isn't she?"
"That's what we're told, son."
"Then if a man marries twice, there isn't anything left of him, is there, Pop?"
—FROTH



"HE USED TO BE A GOOD EGG."

HAEGLUND IN AMERICAN BOY

Housewife: "When you gather the eggs, I want you to write on each one the date and name of the hen that laid it."
New Hired Man: "Lady, I've done everything else you've told me, but I draw the line on playing secretary to your hens."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

The train was just pulling out when a breathless man dashed to the ticket window. "Hurry up," he gasped, "a round-trip ticket."
"Where to?" asked the agent.
"Why, back here. Where do you think?"
—St. Petersburg PILOT

Friend: "There wasn't a very big account of your daughter's wedding in the paper this morning."
Father: "No, the big account was sent to me."
—CLIPPED

The motorcycle cop drove up beside the car that was holding up the line. "Can't you go any faster?" he yelled.
"Sure," was the reply, "but I don't wanna leave the car."
—Los Angeles TIMES

"What happened after you were tossed out of the side exit?"
"I told the waiter I belonged to a very important family."
"So what?"
"He begged my pardon, asked me in again, and threw me out of the front door."
—Toronto LABOR